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75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 784 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must refrain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 784 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations, which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the [791] [554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 784 562 [831] [833] This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility. Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, the married woman is doubly dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life. A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited, 233 784 [374] for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. However, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 754 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

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754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

821 Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

791 There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the 793 person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism 789 against the spells. (86)
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86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

751 Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate 789 objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.
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789 The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 825 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

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[193] according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[191] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

784 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
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789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.

796 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitates immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 462 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

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the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

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Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The